

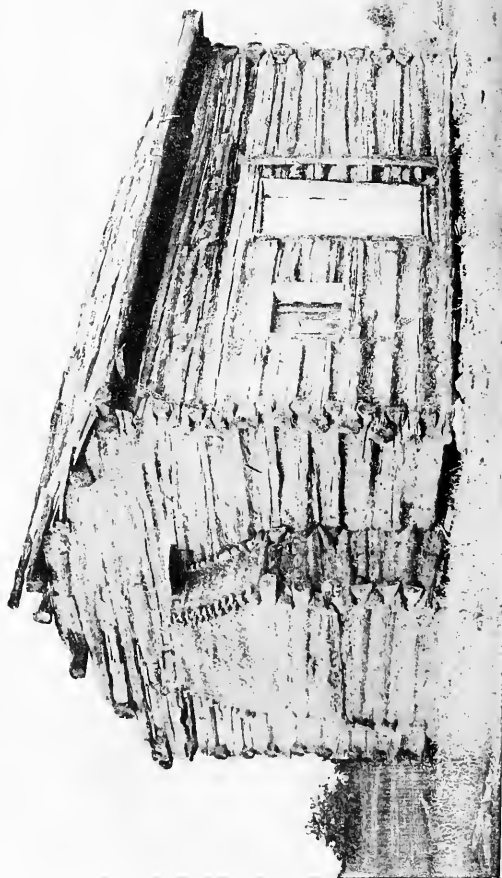
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BIRTHPLACE OF LINCOLN.

LINCOLN

The CITIZEN

February 12, 1809, to March 4, 1861

By HENRY C. WHITNEY

Author of "Life on the Circuit with Lincoln"



Lincoln Centenary Association

New York

CENTENARY
EDITION DE LUXE

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Lincoln Centenary Association

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For permission to use the biography of Lincoln in the present volume thanks are due to William H. Lambert, President of the Lincoln Fellowship. He is the owner of the voluminous MS. on Lincoln left by the late Henry C. Whitney, one of Lincoln's legal associates and personal and political friends. From this the present work on "Lincoln the Citizen" has been extracted. It is confidently expected that the public will find in this character study a personal view of that most human of great men, which is second in general interest only to the life of Lincoln by his law partner, William H. Herndon, and surpasses this in many particular points of keen insight and generous appreciation. Mr. Whitney's "Life" ends at Lincoln's inauguration. After that the biography of the President merges into the history of his country, to the many works upon which the reader is referred.

Thanks are extended to The Lincoln Farm Association, and particularly to its secretary, Richard Lloyd Jones, for permission to use Miss Tarbell's article, "The Parents of Abraham Lincoln" as an introduction to "Lincoln the Citizen."

The mutual helpfulness of these Lincoln associations and publications is the best of tributes to the beneficent influence of that great man to whom "charity" in the broad sense of loving aid and consideration extended to all men was the dearest of words and things. In the hope that we, too, may share in the honor of promoting the fraternal movement which is preparing to inaugurate a new century of the higher patriotism represented by Abraham Lincoln, we present this Centenary Edition of his Life and Works.

THE PARENTS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

IDA M. TARBELL

AMONG the many wrongs of history—and they are legion—there is none in our American chapter at least which is graver than that which has been done the parents, and particularly the mother, of Abraham Lincoln. Of course, I refer to the widespread tradition that Lincoln was born of that class known in the South as “poor whites,” that his father was not Thomas Lincoln, as his biographers insist on declaring, but a rich and cultured planter of another State than Kentucky, and that his mother not only gave a fatherless boy to the world, but herself was a nameless child. The tradition has always lacked particularity. For instance, there has been large difference of opinion about the planter who fathered Abraham, who he was and where he came from. One story calls him Enloe, another Calhoun, another Hardin, and several different States claim him. Only five years ago a book was published in North Carolina to prove that Lincoln’s father was a resident of that State. The bulk of the testimony offered in this instance came from men and women who had been born long after Abraham Lincoln, had never seen him, and never heard the tale they repeated until long after his election to the Presidency. Of the truth of these state-

ments as to Lincoln's origin no proof has ever been produced. They were rumors, diligently spread in the first place by those who for political purposes were glad to belittle a political opponent. They grew with telling, and, curiously enough, two of Lincoln's best friends helped perpetuate them—Messrs. Lamon and Herndon—both of whom wrote lives of the President which are of great interest and value. But neither of these men was a student, and they did not take the trouble to look for records of Mr. Lincoln's birth. They accepted rumors and enlarged upon them. Indeed, it was not until perhaps twenty-five years ago that the matter was taken up seriously and an investigation begun. This has been going on at intervals ever since, until I venture to say that few persons born in a pioneer community, as Lincoln was, and as early as 1809, have their lineage on both sides as clearly established as that of Abraham Lincoln. It takes, indeed, a most amazing credulity for any one to believe the stories I have alluded to after having looked at the records of his family.' Lincoln himself, backed by the record in the Lincoln family Bible, is the first authority for the time and place of his birth, as well as the names of his father and mother. The father, Thomas Lincoln, far from being a "poor white," was the son of a prosperous Kentucky pioneer, a man of honorable and well-established lineage who had come from Virginia as a friend of Daniel Boone, and had there bought large tracts of land and begun to grow up with the country, where he was killed by the Indians. He left a large family. By the law of Kentucky the estate went mainly to the oldest son, and the youngest, Thomas Lincoln, was left to shift for

EARLY SPEECHES

(1832-1856)

"I Am Humble Abraham Lincoln."

ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE
STATE LEGISLATURE. ABOUT MARCH 1,
1832.

Fellow-Citizens: I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected, I shall be thankful; if not it will be all the same.

The Improvement of Sangamon River.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
STATE LEGISLATURE. ABOUT MARCH 1,
1832.*

Fellow-Citizens: Having become a candidate for the honorable office of one of your representatives in the next General Assembly of this State,

* This address was printed and distributed as a handbill. It excited much interest among Lincoln's pro-

were thrown much together, our intimacy increasing. I never had a friend to whom I was more warmly attached. His character was nearly faultless. Possessing a warm, generous heart, genial, affable, honest, courteous to his opponents, persevering, industrious in research, never losing sight of the principal point under discussion, aptly illustrating by his stories always introduced with good effect, he was free from political trickery or denunciation of the private character of his opponents. In debate firm and collected, with "charity towards all, malice towards none," he won the confidence of the public, even of his political opponents.

Lincoln in Congress.

BY ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, VICE-PRESIDENT
OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

I knew Mr. Lincoln well and intimately. We were both members of the Thirtieth Congress, that is, from 1847 to 4th March, 1849. We both belonged to the Whig organization of that day, and were both ardent supporters of General Taylor to the Presidency in 1848. Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Wm. Ballard Preston, and Mr. Thos. S. Flournoy of Virginia, Mr. Toombs of Georgia, Mr. E. C. Campbell of Florida, and one or two others, and myself formed the first Congressional Taylor Club; we were known as the Young Indians, who by our extensive correspondence organized the Taylor movement throughout the country, which resulted in his nomination at Philadelphia. Mr. Lincoln was careful as to his manners, awkward in his speech, but was possessed of a very strong,

clear, and vigorous mind. He always attracted the riveted attention of the House when he spoke ; his manner of speech as well as thought was original. He had no model. He was a man of strong convictions, and was what Carlyle would have called an earnest man. He abounded in anecdotes ; he illustrated everything that he was talking or speaking about by an anecdote ; his anecdotes were always exceedingly apt and pointed, and socially he always kept his company in a roar of laughter. In my last interview with him at the celebrated Hampton Roads Conference in 1865, this trait of his character seemed to be as prominent and striking as ever. He was a man of strong attachments, and his nature overflowed with the milk of human kindness. Widely as we were separated in politics in the latter days of his life, yet I ever cherish for him a high degree of personal regard.

The Elements of Lincoln's Eloquence.

BY W. H. HERNDON, LINCOLN'S LAW PARTNER.

Mr. Lincoln's eloquence lay, first, in the strength of his logical faculty, his supreme power of reasoning, his great understanding, and his love of principle ; second, in his clear, exact, and very accurate vision ; third, in his cool and masterly statement of his principles, around which the issues gather ; in the statement of those issues, and the grouping of the facts that are to carry conviction, aided by his logic, to the minds of men of every grade of intelligence. He was so clear that he could not be misunderstood nor misrepresented. He stood square and bolt upright to

edly an unconsciousness of self which enables him, though under the necessity of constantly using the capital *I*, to do it without any suggestion of egotism. There is no single vowel which men's mouths can pronounce with such difference of effect. That which one shall hide away, as it were behind the substance of his discourse, or, if he bring it to the front, shall use merely to give an agreeable accent of individuality to what he says, another shall make an offensive challenge to the self-satisfaction of all his hearers, and an unwarranted intrusion upon each man's sense of personal importance, irritating every pore of his vanity, like a dry northeast wind, to a goose-flesh of opposition and hostility: Mr. Lincoln has never studied Quintilian; but he has, in the earnest simplicity and unaffected Americanism of his own character, one art of oratory worth all the rest. He forgets himself so entirely in his object as to give his *I* the sympathetic and persuasive effect of *We* with the great body of his countrymen. Homely, dispassionate, showing all the rough-edged process of his thought as it goes along, yet arriving at his conclusions with an honest kind of every-day logic, he is so eminently our representative man, that, when he speaks, it seems as if the people were listening to their own thinking aloud. The dignity of his thought owes nothing to any ceremonial garb of words, but to the manly movement that comes of settled purpose and an energy of reason that knows not what rhetoric means. There has been nothing of Cleon, still less of Strepsiades* striving to underbid him in

* Athenian demagogues, satirized by the comic dramatist Aristophanes.

demagogism, to be found in the public utterances of Mr. Lincoln. He has always addressed the intelligence of men, never their prejudice, their passion, or their ignorance.

The First American.

Extract from Ode Recited at the Harvard Commemoration, July 21, 1865.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

v.

Whither leads the path
 To ampler fates that leads?
 Not down through flowery meads,
 To reap an aftermath
 Of youth's vainglorious weeds;
 But up the steep, amid the wrath
 And shock of deadly-hostile creeds,
 Where the world's best hope and stay
 By battle's flashes gropes a desperate way,
 And every turf the fierce foot clings to bleeds.
 Peace hath her not ignoble wreath,
 Ere yet the sharp, decisive word
 Light the black lips of cannon, and the sword
 Dreams in its easeful sheath;
 But some day the live coal behind the thought,
 Whether from Baäl's stone obscene,
 Or from the shrine serene
 Of God's pure altar brought,
 Bursts up in flame; the war of tongue and pen
 Learns with what deadly purpose it was fraught,
 And, helpless in the fiery passion caught,
 Shakes all the pillared state with shock of men:

BIXBY, MRS.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 21, 1864.

Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
Abraham Lincoln.

BLAIR, FRANK P., JR.

Washington, D. C., May 18, 1861.

Hon. F. P. Blair:

My dear Sir: We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though on the whole I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become

January 2, 1851.

Dear Johnston: Your request for eighty dollars I do not think it best to comply with now. At the various times when I have helped you a little you have said to me, "We can get along very well now"; but in a very short time I find you in the same difficulty again. Now, this can only happen by some defect in your conduct. What that defect is, I think I know. You are not lazy, and still you are an idler. I doubt whether, since I saw you, you have done a good whole day's work in any one day. You do not very much dislike to work, and still you do not work much, merely because it does not seem to you that you could get much for it. This habit of uselessly wasting time is the whole difficulty; it is vastly important to you, and still more so to your children, that you should break the habit. It is more important to them, because they have longer to live, and can keep out of an idle habit before they are in it, easier than they can get out after they are in.

You are now in need of some money; and what I propose is, that you shall go to work, "tooth and nail," for somebody who will give you money for it. Let father and your boys take charge of your things at home, prepare for a crop, and make the crop, and you go to work for the best money wages, or in discharge of any debt you owe, that you can get; and to secure you a fair reward for your labor, I now promise you, that for every dollar you will, between this and the first of May, get for your own labor, either in money or as your own indebtedness, I will then give you one other dollar. By this, if you hire yourself at ten dollars a

SPEECHES AND DEBATES

(1856-1858)

“Who Are the Disunionists—You or We?”

FRAGMENT OF SPEECH AT GALENA, ILL., IN THE
FREMONT CAMPAIGN, IN REPLY TO OBJECT-
ORS TO AGITATION AGAINST THE EXTENSION
OF SLAVERY. ABOUT AUGUST 1, 1856.

You further charge us with being disunionists. If you mean that it is our aim to dissolve the Union, I for myself answer that it is untrue; for those who act with me I answer that it is untrue. Have you heard us assert that as our aim? Do you really believe that such is our aim? Do you find it in our platform, our speeches, our conventions, or anywhere? If not, withdraw the charge.

But you may say that though it is not our aim, it will be the result if we succeed, and that we are therefore disunionists in fact. This is a grave charge you make against us, and we certainly have a right to demand that you specify in what way we are to dissolve the Union. How are we to effect this?

The only specification offered is volunteered by Mr. Fillmore in his Albany speech. His charge is that if we elect a President and Vice-President both from the free States, it will dis-

legislature rightly decide the facts between P. and B. and S. C. and Co.?

It is said that under a general law, whenever a railroad company got tired of its debts it may transfer fraudulently to get rid of them. So they may—so may individuals; and which, the legislature or the courts, is best suited to try the question of fraud in either case?

It is said, if a purchaser have acquired legal rights, let him not be robbed of them; but if he needs legislation, let him submit to just terms to obtain it.

Let him, say we, have general law in advance (guarded in every possible way against fraud), so that when he acquires a legal right he will have no occasion to wait for additional legislation; and if he has practised fraud, let the courts so decide.

“A House Divided Against Itself Cannot Stand.”

SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF NOMINATION AS
UNITED STATES SENATOR, MADE AT THE
CLOSE OF THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVEN-
TION, SPRINGFIELD, ILL. JUNE 16, 1858.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented.

In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition?

Let any one who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery, so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief architects, from the beginning.

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State constitutions, and from most of the national territory by congressional prohibition. Four days later commenced the struggle which ended in repealing that congressional prohibition. This opened all the national territory to slavery, and was the first point gained.

But, so far, Congress only had acted; and an

that the compromises of 1850 were dependent on each other; if we do not know that Illinois came into the Union as a free State,—we do not know anything. If we do not know these things, we do not know that we ever had a Revolutionary war or such a chief as Washington. To deny these things is to deny our national axioms,—or dogmas, at least,—and it puts an end to all argument. If a man will stand up and assert, and repeat and reassert, that two and two do not make four, I know nothing in the power of argument that can stop him. I think I can answer the judge so long as he sticks to the premises; but when he flies from them, I cannot work any argument into the consistency of a mental gag and actually close his mouth with it. In such a case I can only commend him to the seventy thousand answers just in from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana.

“You Shall Not Go Out of the Union.”

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST REPUBLICAN
STATE CONVENTION OF ILLINOIS, HELD AT
BLOOMINGTON. MAY 29, 1856.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I was over at [cries of “Platform!” “Take the Platform!”]—I say, that while I was at Danville Court, some of our friends of anti-Nebraska got together in

* This is the famous “Lost Speech” of Lincoln which aroused such interest among the auditors that even the news reporters sat spell-bound, and neglected to take notes. However, Henry C. Whitney, a lawyer of Chicago, who was present, made long-hand notes of the address (see account in his “Lincoln the Citizen,” which forms volume one of the present edition).

Springfield and elected me as one delegate to represent old Sangamon with them in this convention, and I am here certainly as a sympathizer in this movement and by virtue of that meeting and selection. But we can hardly be called delegates strictly, inasmuch as, properly speaking, we represent nobody but ourselves. I think it altogether fair to say that we have no anti-Nebraska party in Sangamon, although there is a good deal of anti-Nebraska feeling there; but I say for myself, and I think I may speak also for my colleagues, that we who are here fully approve of the platform and of all that has been done [*a voice: "Yes!"*]; and even if we are not regularly delegates, it will be right for me to answer your call to speak. I suppose we truly stand for the public sentiment of Sangamon on the great question of the repeal, although we do not yet represent many numbers who have taken a distinct position on the question.

We are in a trying time—it ranges above mere party—and this movement to call a halt and turn our steps backward needs all the help and good counsels it can get; for unless popular opinion makes itself very strongly felt, and a change is made in our present course, *blood will flow on account of Nebraska, and brother's hand will be raised against brother!* *

These notes he wrote out in 1896. According to Mr. Whitney's claim he has followed the argument, and in many cases, reproduced the very statements of Mr. Lincoln. This report was copyrighted in 1896 by Sarah A. Whitney. The copyright is now owned by William H. Lambert, Esq., of Philadelphia, from whom permission has been obtained for the present reproduction of the report.

* The last sentence was uttered in such an earnest,

THE JOINT DEBATE WITH DOUGLAS

Introduction.

BY HORACE WHITE.

The following account of Mr. Lincoln's debate with Senator Douglas is condensed from a chapter in HERN-
DON and WEIK'S "Life of Lincoln" written in February,
1890, by Horace White, now of the New York *Evening*
Post, who accompanied Mr. Lincoln as the reporter
of the debate for the Chicago *Tribune*. It is presented
here by the kind permission of the publishers of the
"Life," D. Appleton and Company, of New York.

All of the seven joint debates were reported
by Mr. HITT* for the *Tribune*, the manuscript
passing through my hands before going to the
printers. . . .

The volume containing the debates, published
in 1860 by FOLLETT, FOSTER & CO., of Columbus,
Ohio, presents Mr. Lincoln's speeches as they
appeared in the Chicago *Tribune*, and Mr. Doug-
LAS'S as they appeared in the Chicago *Times*. . . .

The next stage brought us to Ottawa, the first
joint debate, August 21. Here the crowd was
enormous. The weather had been very dry and
the town was shrouded in dust raised by the mov-
ing populace. Crowds were pouring into town,

* Mr. Robert R. Hitt, subsequently Assistant Secretary
of State, and, after this, Congressman from the 6th District
of Illinois.

Slavery as the Fathers Viewed It.

ADDRESS AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK. FEBRUARY 27, 1860.

Mr. President and Fellow-citizens of New York: The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation. In his speech last autumn at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in the *New York Times*, Senator Douglas said:

Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now.

I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting-point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?

What is the frame of government under which we live? The answer must be, "The Constitution of the United States." That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, and under which the present government first went into operation, and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who

Farewell to Home Folks.

REMARKS TO SPRINGFIELD NEIGHBORS ON LEAVING FOR WASHINGTON. FEBRUARY 11, 1861.

My Friends: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

The Preservation of the Union: It Rests with the People.

REMARKS AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND. FEBRUARY 11, 1861.

Governor Morton and Fellow-citizens of the State of Indiana: Most heartily do I thank you for this magnificent reception; and while I cannot take to myself any share of the compliment thus paid, more than that which pertains to a mere instrument—an accidental instrument perhaps I should say—of a great cause, I yet must look upon it as a magnificent reception, and as such

The Liberty Inherited from the Fathers.

ADDRESS TO THE SENATE OF NEW JERSEY, AT
TRENTON. FEBRUARY 21, 1861.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Senate of the State of New Jersey: I am very grateful to you for the honorable reception of which I have been the object. I cannot but remember the place that New Jersey holds in our early history. In the Revolutionary struggle few of the States among the Old Thirteen had more of the battlefields of the country within their limits than New Jersey. May I be pardoned if, upon this occasion, I mention that away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of the younger members have ever seen—Weems' "Life of Washington." I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fix themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, N. J. The crossing of the river, the contest with the Hessians, the great hardships endured at that time, all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single Revolutionary event; and you all know, for you all have been boys, how these early impressions last longer than any others. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for. I am exceedingly anxious that that thing—that something even more than national independence; that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come—I am

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

First Inaugural Address.*

DELIVERED AT WASHINGTON, D. C. MARCH 4,
1861.

Fellow-citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

* Lincoln wrote and privately printed a tentative draft of the message while at Springfield, Ill. On his way to Washington he gave a copy to his friend O. H. Browning, at Indianapolis, who suggested that the statement therein that Lincoln would "reclaim" the Federal property in the hand of the secessionists should be omitted, as subject to construction as a threat, and as such unnecessarily aggravating to the South. This suggestion the President adopted. On arriving at Washington, Mr. Lincoln gave a copy of the draft to Mr. Seward, his appointee as Secretary of State. Mr. Seward suggested two important changes, one that was virtually Mr. Browning's emendation, and the other, the omission of a statement that the President would follow the principles of the Republican platform. Referring to the latter, he reminded Lincoln that Jefferson, at a similar crisis when the opposing party sought to dismember the Government, "sank the partisan in the patriot in his inaugural address, and propitiated his adversaries by declaring: 'We are all Federalists, all Republicans.'" Most of Seward's other suggestions related to improvements in rhetoric. His "general remarks" were as follows:

"The argument is strong and conclusive, and ought not to be in any way abridged or modified.

"But something besides or in addition to argument is

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to inter-

needful to meet and remove prejudice and passion in the South, and dependency in the East.

"Some words of affection—some of calm and cheerful confidence."

Mr. Seward submitted two paragraphs of his own, as suggestions for closing the speech in a conciliatory and cheerful manner. The second was in that poetic vein which occasionally cropped out in Seward's speeches and writings, and over which Lincoln on better acquaintance was wont good-naturedly to rally him. Seward wrote:

"I close. We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow-countrymen and brethren. Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not, be broken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battlefields and so many patriot graves, pass through all the hearts and all hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation."

Lincoln took this paragraph, and by deft touches which reveal a literary taste beyond that of any statesman of his time, transformed it into his peroration. More than anything else in the address, it was the tender spirit and chaste beauty of these closing words that convinced the people that Lincoln measured up to the high mental stature demanded of one who was to be their leader during the most critical period of the life of the nation.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

great evil, and one which, while it exists to a very great extent, we cannot expect to overcome so entirely as to have such successes in our arms as we might have without it. This undoubtedly is true, and while it is perhaps rather a bad source to derive comfort from, nevertheless, in a hard struggle, I do not know but what it is some consolation to be aware that there is some intemperance on the other side, too; and that they have no right to beat us in physical combat on that ground.

But I have already said more than I expected to be able to say when I began, and if you please to hand me a copy of your address, it shall be considered. I thank you very heartily, gentlemen, for this call, and for bringing with you these very many pretty ladies.

Speech at the Dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg.

On November 19, 1863, the National Cemetery of Union Soldiers killed at the battle of Gettysburg was dedicated in the presence of a vast array of people assembled from all parts of the Union upon the battlefield. The orator of the day was Edward Everett. At the close of his long address, composed in the finished periods of that "classic" order of American oratory of which he was the greatest living master, when the thunders of applause that it evoked had ceased, President Lincoln rose and spoke a few heart-felt words which so moved the deeps of emotion in his hearers that many sat spell-bound and silent after the speaker had finished. As the President's letter to Mr. Everett, written on the following day, indicates (see **LETTERS** in present edition), Mr. Lincoln inferred from this reception that the speech was a "failure," but he was quickly disabused of that idea by evidences coming from every part of the Union of the deep impression it had made on the hearts of his countrymen.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Address to General Grant on Commissioning Him Lieutenant-General.

On March 9, 1864, President Lincoln appointed Ulysses S. Grant Lieutenant-General of the Army of

this mark of their confidence; with a distrust of my own ability to perform the duty required under the most favorable circumstances, and now rendered doubly difficult by existing national perils; yet with a firm reliance on the strength of our free government, and the eventual loyalty of the people to the just principles upon which it is founded, and above all with an unshaken faith in the Supreme Ruler of nations, I accept this trust. Be pleased to signify this to the respective Houses of Congress.

Second Inaugural Address.

DELIVERED AT WASHINGTON, D. C. MARCH 4,
1865.

Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address

was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe

unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

Remarks on the Employment of Negroes in the Confederate Army, Made to an Indiana Regiment.

On March 17, 1865, in an address to an Indiana Regiment, the President took occasion to animadvert

Again, I do not perceive how the reinforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery or a party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo certainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars and instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect harmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy.

Upon your closing propositions—that “whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

“For this purpose it must be somebody’s business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

“Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

“Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide”—I remark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a general line of policy is adopted, I apprehend there is no danger of its being changed without good reason, or continuing to be a subject of unnecessary debate; still, upon points arising in its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the cabinet.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 7, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: Mr. James F. B. Marshall, of

mutual healths in the most healthy beverage which God has given to man—it is the only beverage I have ever used or allowed in my family, and I cannot conscientiously depart from it on the present occasion—it is pure Adam's ale from the spring'; and, taking a tumbler, he touched it to his lips, and pledged them his highest respects in a cup of cold water. Of course, all his guests were constrained to admire his consistency, and to join in his example.

No Vices, Few Virtues.

A gentleman once complimented the President on having no vices, neither drinking nor smoking. "That is a doubtful compliment," answered the President; "I recollect once being outside a stage-coach, in Illinois, and a man sitting by me offered me a cigar. I told him I had no vices. He said nothing, but smoked for some time, and then growled out: 'It's my experience that folks who have no vices have generally very few virtues.'"

Lincoln's Democratic Habits.

Some of Mr. Lincoln's immediate neighbors were taken as completely by surprise [*at his nomination for the Presidency*] as those in distant States. An old resident of Springfield told me that there lived within a block or two of his house, in that city, an Englishman, who of course still cherished to some extent the ideas and prejudices of his native land. Upon hearing of the choice at Chicago he could not contain his astonishment.



Abraham Lincoln

EARLIEST PORTRAIT (1848)

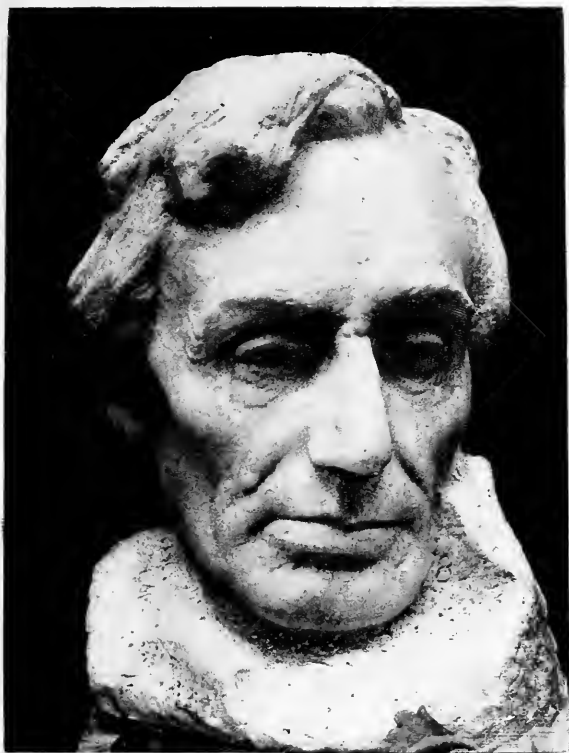


ABRAHAM LINCOLN
AS PRESIDENT-ELECT (1860)



Abraham Lincoln

FROM AN UNRETOUCHED NEGATIVE MADE IN 1864



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HEAD OF LINCOLN
DONE IN MARBLE BY GUTZON BORGLUM 1907.



ENGRAVED BY SARTAIN

Abraham Lincoln



G. A. Grant

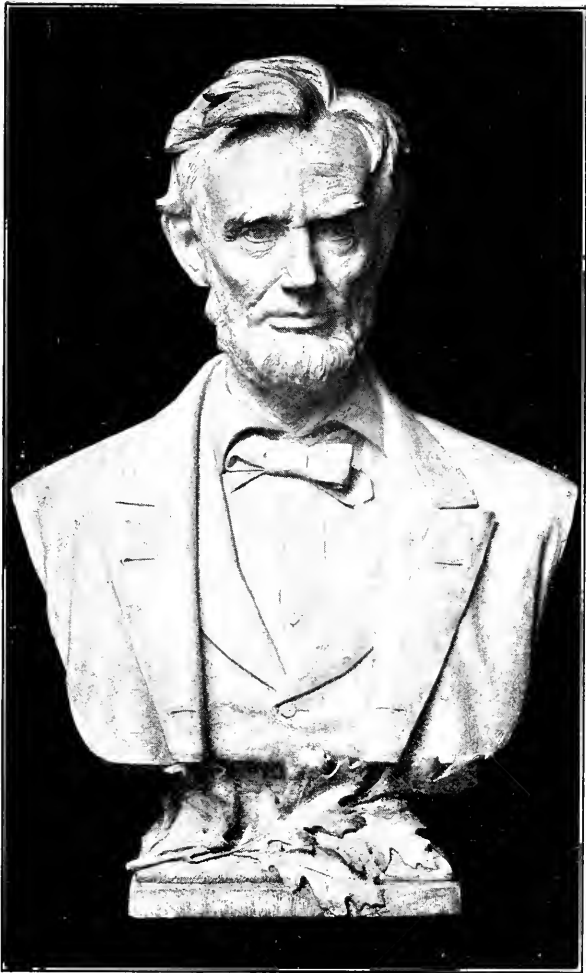


R. E. Lee



READING OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
BEFORE THE CABINET





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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Photographed from a Bust by Johannes Gelert, which the sculptor modeled from the Life Mask by Volk, and the Untouched Photograph by Rice



PRESIDENT LINCOLN AT HOME

After engraving by A. B. Walter



PAINTED BY S. B. WAUGH

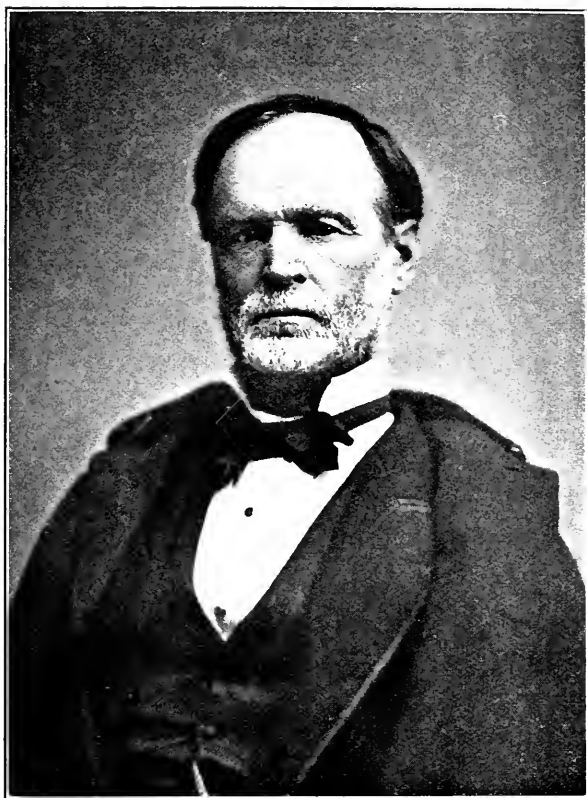
FROM ENGRAVING BY WM. SARTAIN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND FAMILY

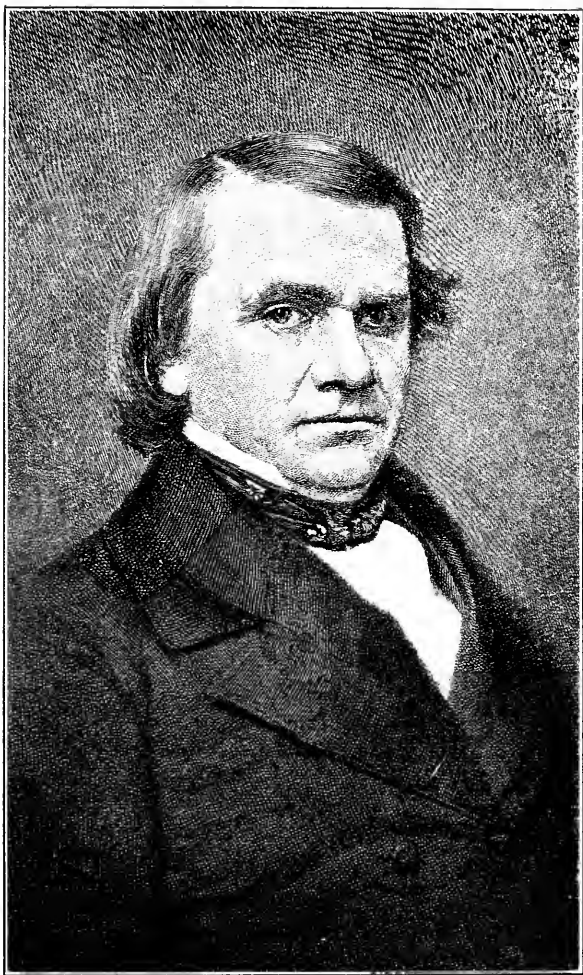
From L. to R. are Thomas ("Tad"), Abraham, Robert Todd, and Mary Todd Lincoln. The portrait in the center is of William, the second son, who died in the White House



WILLIAM H. SEWARD



GEN. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

